

Message Text

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42

ACTION AF-07

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 PM-03 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 RSC-01

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FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9869

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L KINSHASA 8971

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: AP, PO, CG, PINS, PFOR

SUBJ: ANGOLA - HOLDEN ROBERTO/EASUM CONVERSATION

1. SUMMARY. HOLDEN RESERVES JUDGMENT ON INTENTIONS OF PORTUGUESE. BELIEVES THEY STILL UNPREPARED TO FACE HARD REALITIES SUCH AS FUTURE BLACK CONTROL OF ANGOLAN ECONOMY AND PROBLEM OF ECONOMICALLY DISPLACED ANGOLAN WHITES. FNLA WILLING TO CONTINUE SUSPENSION OF HOSTILITIES FOR UP TO TWO MONTHS, AFTER WHICH ACTION WILL BE RESUMED, FAILING CLEAR EVIDENCE OF PORTUGUESE "PROGRESS". SAVIMBI IS TARNISHED, NOT TO BE TRUSTED, BUT HOLDEN WOULD WORK WITH HIM IN COMMON NEGOTIATING FRONT. NETO IS COMMUNIST TOOL OF SOVIETS AND "WHITES". CABINDA WILL BE PART OF ANGOLA IN ANY FUTURE SETTLEMENT AND PORTUGUESE AGREE ON THIS. FNLA IS
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NOT COMMUNIST, THOUGH COMMUNIST AID HAS BEEN ACCEPTED. US LATE

ON SCENE, BUT STILL HAS ROLE TO PLAY. END SUMMARY.

2. IN TWO AND ONE-HALF HOUR MEETING WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY EASUM AND AMBASSADOR ON OCTOBER 20, HOLDEN ROBERTO MADE FOLLOWING POINTS. THOUGH EVENTS IN ANGOLA MOVING RAPIDLY AND WITH SOME PROMISE JUDGMENT MUST BE RESERVED ON TRUE INTENTIONS OF PORTUGUESE. FNLA'S SUSPENSION OF HOSTILITIES JUST THAT AND NOT A FORMAL CEASE FIRE AS IT IS BEING REPRESENTED BY PORTUGUESE IN LUANDA. PORTUGUESE DOWNPLAYING HARD ISSUES IN ANGOLA, MAINTAINING ROSEATE CONCEPT OF MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY AND TENDING TO MINIMIZE CRUCIAL ISSUE OF WHO WILL RULE FOLLOWING INDEPENDENCE. PORTUGUESE EXPROPRIATION OF LAND, EVICTION OF ANGOLANS FROM TRIBAL HOMES AND OTHER INJUSTICIES NOT FORGOTTEN. MANY PORTUGUESE WILL HAVE TO CEDE UNSKILLED JOBS TO ANGOLAN BLACKS. NEW BLACK LEADERSHIP WILL NOT EXPEL PORTUGUESE MANY OF WHOM IN ANGOLA FOR SEVERAL GENERATIONS. FUTURE OF UNEMPLOYED WHITES IS PROBLEM FOR PORTUGUESE THEMSELVES. PORTUGUESE ARE NOT FACING FACT THAT ECONOMY MUST BE CONTROLLED BY BLACKS. "FORMULA WILL HAVE TO BE FOUND".

3. HOLDEN EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER LONG RANGE PORTUGUESE INTENTIONS IN VIEW OF SIGNIFICANT GAINS MADE BY COMMUNISTS SINCE APRIL 1974. FNLA STUDENTS RETURNING FROM CZECHOSLAVAKIA REPORT THAT 200 PORTUGUESE

STUDENTS THERE RETURNED HOME AFTER THE COUP AND CAN BE ASSUMED TO BE WORKING FOR LEFTISTS. FNLA ACCEPTS AID FROM COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, BUT IS NOT LEFTIST. PCP, WITH HELP FROM EUROPEAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS, APPEARS TO BE TRYING TO LAY BASE FOR COMMUNIST ANGOLA AND IS BEING AIDED AND ABETTED IN THIS BY BEHAVIOR OF MUCH OF ANGOLAN PRESS.

4. DURING OCTOBER 11 MEETING IN KINSHASA GENERAL PEREIRA DE MELO TOLD HOLDEN THAT COSTA GOMEZ IS BETTER POLITICAN THAN SPINOLA AND SEEKS JUST SOLUTION. DE MELO COUNSELED RESTRAINT BY FNLA, WHICH SHOULD SEEK TO AVOID NEEDLESS LOSS OF LIFE SUCH AS THAT ALMOST INFLICTED DURING RECENT ROCKET ATTACK ON LUANDA AIRPORT. HOLDEN COMMENTED THIS RESPITE FROM WAR HOSTILITIES IS NOT OPEN-ENDED. IN ABSENCE OF DEFINITE PROGRESS WITHIN TWO MONTHS FNLA WILL RESUME HOSTILITIES. "PROGRESS" MEANS EVIDENCE OF SINCERE INTENT BY PORTUGUESE
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TO WORK WITH LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND TO BEGIN ACTIVE NEGOTIATIONS TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE. PORTUGUESE MUST REALIZE THEY CANNOT IMPOSE THEIR IDEAS ON LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, AND MUST NOT TRY OLD TACTIC OF ATTEMPTING TO ISOLATE AND DIVIDE ANGOLANS--MAKING DISTINCTIONS, FOR EXAMPLE, BETWEEN BAHONGO AND KIVIMBI. FNLA NOW HAS SUPPORT IN ALL AREAS INCLUDING SOUTH.

5. HOLDEN DISCUSSED TRIBAL SITUATION IN ANGOLA AT LENGTH, MAKING TWO MAIN POINTS. FIRST, SOUTHERN AND CENTRAL TRIBES WERE LESS WELL EDUCATED AND HAD BEEN HERDED AROUND BY PORTUGUESE LIKE SHEEP. WHEREAS MANY BAKONGO HAD FLED NORTHERN ANGOLA IN FACE PORTUGUESE REPRESSION AND MILITARY ACTIVITIES, THE BAILUNDO HAD WILLINGLY MOVED NORTH TO WORK AS SERFS UNDER PORTUGUESE CONTROL. OF FIVE SIGNIFICANT TRIBES IN UNITA AREA, HE THOUGHT ONLY ONE WAS WORTH ITS SALT. SECOND, HOLDEN SAID IN PROCESS CREATING NATIONAL STATE, ONE OR TWO TRIBES MUST ALWAYS TAKE LEADERSHIP. HE CITED KENYATTA AND KIKUYU AS ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT IN ACHIEVEMENT KENYA INDEPENDENCE. HE WAS IN SIMILAR POSITION. WHILE HE SOUGHT UNIFIED ANGOLA ON MODERN NON-TRIBAL BASIS, FACTS OF SITUATION MADE BAKONGO HIS PRINCIPAL INSTRUMENT.

6. HOLDEN WILL NEVER REALLY TRUST SAVIMBI AGAIN, THOUGH HE WOULD WORK WITH HIM IN UNIFIED NEGOTIATING FRONT. SAVIMBI TRIES TO DISCREDIT HOLDEN AT 1964 OAU CONFERENCE IN CAIRO, ACCUSING HIM OF BEING USG/CIA PUPPET. HE IS AN OPPORTUNIST WHO REACHED OWN TERMS WITH PORTUGUESE. NETO IS COMMUNIST TOOL OF "THE WHITES" AND OF SOVIET BLOC. CHIPENDA IS OK.

7. CABINDA WILL BE PART OF ANGOLA IN ANY FUTURE SETTLEMENT AND PORTUGUESE RECOGNIZE THIS. GENERAL DE MELO HAD DECLINED MEET WITH RANQUE FRANQUE DURING HIS VISIT TO KINSHASA. HOLDEN ASSERTS FLEC IS DISCREDITED EVEN IN CABINDA. HE AGONIZED, HOWEVER, OVER HIS RESPONSE TO QUESTION ABOUT MOBUTU'S ATTITUDE. APPARENTLY MOBUTU HAD POINTED OUT DANGER TO HIM OF SPLIT STATE A LA PAKISTAN/BANGLADESH. OUR MEMORIES DIFFER SOMEWHAT ON THIS POINT BUT HOLDEN MAY ALSO HAVE INDICATED THAT MOBUTU WAS SEEKING TO GROUP CABINDANS AND FNLA FORCES INTO SEPARATE UNIT. HOLDEN DEFINITELY ASSERTED THAT FRENCH ARE NOW DEEPLY INTO GAME, PROVIDING FINANCING

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AND TRAINING FOR BRAZZAVILLE-BASED FLEC.

8. HOLDEN OBSERVED THAT US IS LATE IN RECOGNIZING SITUATION IN ANGOLA, BUT STILL HAS A ROLE TO PLAY. FNLA IS NOT COMMUNIST, THOUGH IT HAS ACCEPTED AID FROM CHINESE. THEY, UNLIKE RUSSIANS, ARE NOT IN A HURRY AND SAY THEY HAVE PLENTY OF TIME. HOLDEN SUGGESTED NEITHER HE NOR US SHOULD TRUST CHINESE AND THAT THIS WAS ONE MORE REASON HE HOPED US WOULD PLAY ROLE.

9. HOLDEN ROBERTO CAME ACROSS TO ME AS VERY DIFFERENT HOLDEN THAN ONE I HAD MET IN PRESENCE FONMIN UMBA. HE WAS FAR MORE FORCEFUL AND SPOKE WITH GREAT PERSONAL CONVICTION AND IN ASTONISHING DETAIL ABOUT EVENTS AND PERSONALITIES OF PAST. HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD PORTUGUESE WAS HARD AND I FOR ONE CAN

BELIEVE THAT MOBUTU HAD TO EXERCISE CONSIDERABLE PRESSUE
TO BRING HOLDENTO WHERE HE IS NOW. AND TO ME, AT LEAST,
HOLDEN SOUNDED GENUINELY TROUBLED WHEN HE SAID THAT HE WAS
NOT YET SURE WHETHER APRIL EVENTS IN PORTUGAL WERE FOR
BETTER OR WORSE AND WHEN HE WENT ON AT LENGTH ABOUT HOW HE
WAS UNLUCKY IN THAT EACH TIME HIS GOAL CAME IN SIGHT, NEW
DIFFICULTIES WERE CREATED. HE SPOKE OF FACING WHAT APPEARED
TO BE "INSURMOUNTABLE WALLS" AND OF REAL POSSIBILITY OF AGAIN
RESORTING TO FORCE.

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